# ABRIDGMENT

OF THAT EMINENT PATRIOT

## Mr. JOHN TRENCHARD's

HISTORY OF

## STANDING ARMIES in ENGLAND.

WITH AN

Incomparable PREFACE upon GOVERNMENT.

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## PREFACE.

THERE is nothing in which the generality of mankind are ſo much miſtaken as when they talk of government. The different effects of it are obvious to every one, but few can trace its cauſes. Moſt men having indigeſted ideas of the nature of it, attribute all public miſcarriages to the corruption of mankind. They think the whole maſs is infected, that it is impoſſible to make any reformation, and ſo ſubmit patiently to their country's calamities, or elſe ſhare in the ſpoil; whereas complaints of this kind are as old as the world, and every age has thought their own the worſt. We have not only our own experience, but the example of all times, to prove that men in the ſame circumſtances will do the ſame things, call them by what names of diſtinction you pleaſe. A government is a mere piece of clock-work; and having ſuch ſprings and wheels muſt act after ſuch a manner; and therefore the art is to conſtitute it ſo that it muſt move to the public advantage. It is certain that every man will act for his own intereſt, and all wiſe governments are founded upon that principle: ſo that this whole myſtery is only to make the intereſt of our governors and the governed the ſame. In an abſolute monarchy, where the whole power is in one man, his intereſt will be only regarded; in an ariſtocracy, the intereſt of a few; and in a free government, the intereſt of every one. This would be the caſe of England, if ſome abuſes that have lately crept into our conſtitution were removed. The freedom of this kingdom depends upon the peoples chooſing the houſe of commons, who are a part of the legiſlature, and have the ſole power of giving money. Were this a true repreſentative, and free from external force or private bribery, nothing could paſs there but what they thought was for the public advantage; for their own intereſt is ſo interwoven with the peoples, that if they act for themſelves (which every one of them will do as near as he can) they muſt act for the common intereſt of England; and if a few amongſt them ſhould find it their intereſt to abuſe their power, it will be the intereſt of all the reſt to puniſh them for it. This is the fountain-head from whence the people expect all their happineſs, and the redreſs of their grievances; and if we can preſerve them free from corruption, they will take care to keep every body elſe ſo. Our conſtitution ſeems to have provided for it, by never ſuffering the king (till

Charles the ſecond's reign) to have a mercenary army to frighten them into a compliance, nor places or revenues great enough to bribe them into it. The places in the king's gift were but few, and moſt of them patent places for life, and the reſt, great offices of ſtate, enjoyed by ſingle perſons, which ſeldom fell to the ſhare of the commons, ſuch as the lord chancellor, lord treaſurer, privy leal, lord high admiral, &c. and when theſe offices were poſſeſſed by the lords, the commons were ſevere inquiſitors into their actions. Thus the government of England continued from the time that the Romans quitted the iſland to the time of Charles the firſt, who was the firſt I have read of that made an oppoſition to himſelf in the houſe of commons. He raiſed great ſums of money upon the people; but it being without authority of parliament, and having no army to back him, it met with ſuch difficulties in the raiſing, that it did him little good, and ended at laſt in his ruin, though by the means of a long and miſerable war, which brought us from one tyranny to another; for the army had got all things into their power, and governed the nation by a council of war, which made all parties join in calling in Charles the ſecond: ſo that he came in with the general applauſe of the people, who, in a kind fit, gave him a vaſt revenue for life. By this he was enabled to raiſe an army, and bribe the parliament, which he did to the purpoſe; but being a luxurious prince, he could not part with great ſums at once: he only fed them from hand to mouth; ſo that they found it as neceſſary to keep him in a conſtant dependence upon them, as they had upon him. They knew he would give them ready money no longer than he had abſolute neceſſity for them, and he had not places enough in his diſpoſal to ſecure a majority in the houſe; for in thoſe early days the art was not found out of ſplitting and multiplying places; as inſtead of a lord treaſurer, to have five lords of the treaſury; inſtead of a lord admiral, to have ſeven lords of the admiralty; to have ſeven commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, nine of the exciſe, fourteen of the navy-office, ten of the ſtamp-office, eight of the prize-office, ſixteen of the commiſſioners of trade, two of the poſt-office, four of the tranſports, four for hackney-coaches, four for wine-licences, four for the victualling-office, and multitudes of other offices, which are endleſs to enumerate. I believe the gentlemen who have the good fortune to be in ſome of theſe employments, will think I compliment them, if I ſhould ſay they have not been better executed ſince they were in ſo many hands, than when in fewer; and I muſt confeſs, I ſee no reaſon why they may not be made twice as many, and ſo ad infinitum, unleſs the number be aſcertained by parliament; and what danger this may be to our conſtitution, I think of with horror: for if in ages to come, they ſhould all be given to parliament-men, what will become of our ſo much boaſted liberty? What ſhall be done when the criminal becomes the judge, and the malefactors are left to try themſelves? We may be ſure their common danger will unite them, and they will all ſtand by one another. I do not ſpeak this by gueſs; for I have read of a country where there was a conſtant ſeries of miſmanagement for many years together, and yet nobody was puniſhed; and even in our country, I believe, ſome men now alive can remember the time, when if the then king had but twenty more places in diſpoſal, or diſpoſed of thoſe he had to the beſt advantage, the liberty of England had been at an end. If this

method ſhould be taken in a future reign, the people muſt not expect to ſee men of ability or integrity in any places, while they hold them by no other tenure than the diſſervice they do their country in the houſe of commons, and are ſure to be turned out upon every prevalent faction on the other ſide. They muſt then never expect to ſee the houſe of commons act vigorouſly either for the intereſt of king or people; but ſome will ſervilely comply with the court to keep their places, others will oppoſe it as unreaſonably to get them: and thoſe gentlemen, whoſe deſigns are for their country's intereſt, will grow weary of the beſt forms of government in the world, thinking by miſtake the fault is in our conſtitution. I have heard of a country, where the diſputes about offices to the value of thirty thouſand pounds per annum, have made ſix millions ineffectual; what by ſome mens proſtitute compliance, and others openly clogging the wheels, it has cauſed want and neceſſity in all kinds of men, bribery, treachery, profaneneſs, atheiſm, prodigality, luxury, and all the vices that attend a remiſs and corrupt adminiſtration, and a univerſal neglect of the public. One part of the duty of the houſe of commons is to puniſh offenders, and redreſs the grievances occaſioned by the executive part of the government; and how can that be done, if they ſhould happen to be the ſame perſon, unleſs they would be public-ſpirited enough to hang or drown themſelves?

But in my opinion, in another thing of leſs importance, we deviated in Charles the ſecond's time from our conſtitution; for though we were in a capacity of puniſhing offenders, yet we did not know legally who they were. The law has been always very tender of the perſon of the king, and therefore has diſpoſed the executive part of the government in ſuch proper channels, that whatſoever leſſer exceſſes are committed, they are not imputed to him, but his miniſters are accountable for them; his great ſeal is kept by the lord chancellor, his revenue by his treaſurer, his laws are executed by his judges, his fleet is managed by his lord high admiral, who are all accountable for their miſbehaviour. Formerly all matters of ſtate and diſcretion were debated and reſolved in the privy council, where every man ſubſcribed his opinion, and was anſwerable for it. The late king Charles was the firſt who broke this moſt excellent part of our conſtitution, by ſettling a cabal or cabinet council, where all matters of conſequence were debated and reſolved, and then brought to the privy-council to be confirmed. The firſt footſteps we have of this council, in any European government, were in Charles the ninth's time of France, when reſolving to maſſacre the proteſtants, he durſt not truſt his council with it, but choſe a few men whom he called his cabinet-council; and, conſidering what a genealogy it had, it is no wonder it has been ſo fatal both to king and people. To the king; for whereas our conſtitution has provided miniſters in the ſeveral parts of the government to anſwer for miſcarriages, and to ſkreen him from the hatred of the people; this, on the contrary, protects the miniſters, and expoſes the king to all the complaints of his ſubjects. And it is as dangerous to the people; for whatever miſcarriages there are, nobody can be puniſhed for them; for they juſtify themſelves by a ſign manual, or perhaps a private direction from the king; and then we have run it ſo far, that we cannot follow it. The conſequence of this muſt be continual heart-burnings between king and people; and no one can ſee the event.

# ABRIDGMENT, &c.

IF a man doubts whether a ſtanding army is ſlavery, popery, mahometiſm, paganiſm, atheiſm, free-thinking, or any thing which they pleaſe, let him read,

Firſt, The ſtory of Matho and Spendius at Carthage, and the Mamalukes of Egypt.

Secondly, The hiſtories of Strada and Bentivolio, where he will find what work nine thouſand Spaniards made in the ſeventeen provinces, though the country was full of fortified towns, poſſeſſed by the low country lords, and they had aſſiſtance from Germany, England, and France.

Thirdly, The hiſtory of Philip de Comines, where he will find that Lewis XIth enſlaved the vaſt country of France with 25,000 men, and that the raiſing 500 horſe by Philip of Burgundy, ſurnamed The Good, was the ruin of thoſe provinces.

Fourthly, Ludlow's Memoirs, where he will find that an army raiſed to defend our liberties made footballs of that parliament, at whoſe actions all Europe ſtood amazed, and in a few years ſet up ten ſorts of government contrary to the genius of the whole nation, and the opinion of half their own body: ſuch is the influence of a general over an army, that he can make them act, like a piece of mechaniſm, whatever their private opinions are.

Laſtly, Let him read the Arguments againſt a Standing Army, the Diſcourſe concerning Militias, the Militia Reformed, and the Anſwers to them; but leſt all this ſhould not ſatisfy him, I will here give a ſhort hiſtory of ſtanding armies in England; I will trace this myſtery of iniquity from the beginning, and ſhew the ſeveral ſteps by which it has crept upon us.

The firſt footſteps I find of a ſtanding army in England ſince the Romans left the iſland were in Richard the ſecond's time, who raiſed 4000 archers in Cheſhire, and ſuffered them to plunder, live upon free quarter, beat, wound, raviſh, and kill wherever they went; and afterwards he called a parliament, encompaſſed them with his archers, forced them to give up the whole power of parliaments, and make it treaſon to endeavour to repeal any of the arbitrary conſtitutions that were then made: but being afterwards obliged to go to Ireland to ſuppreſs a rebellion there, the people took advantage of it, and dethroned him.

The nation had ſuch a ſpecimen in his reign of a ſtanding army, that I do not find any king from him to Charles the firſt, that attempted keeping up any forces in time of peace, except the yeomen of the guard, who were conſtituted by Henry the ſeventh. And though there were ſeveral armies raiſed in that time for French, Scotch, Iriſh, and other foreign and domeſtic wars, yet they were conſtantly diſbanded as ſoon as the occaſion was over. And in all the wars of York and Lancaſter, whatever party prevailed, we do not find they ever attempted to keep up a ſtanding army.

In the year 1602 died queen Elizabeth, and with her all the virtue of the Plantagenets and Tudors: ſhe made the Engliſh glory ſound through the whole earth; ſhe firſt taught her country the advantages of trade, ſet

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bounds to the ambition of France and Spain, aſſiſted the Dutch, but would neither permit them or France to build any great ſhips; kept the keys of the Maes and Scheld in her own hands; and died with an uncontrouled dominion of the ſeas, and arbitreſs of Chriſtendom. All this ſhe did with a revenue not exceeding 300,000 l. per annum, and had but inconſiderable taxes from her people.

No ſooner was king James come to the crown, but all the reputation we had acquired in her glorious reign was eclipſed, and we became the ſcorn of all nations about us, contemned even by that ſtate we had created. He ſquandered the public treaſure, diſcountenanced all the great men who were raiſed in the glorious reign of his predeceſſor, cut off Sir Walter Raleigh's head, advanced favourites of his own, men of no merit, to the higheſt preferment; and, to maintain their profuſeneſs, he granted them monopolies, infinite projects, proſtituted honours for money, raiſed benevolences and loans without authority of parliament. And when theſe grievances were complained of there, he committed many of the principal members without bail or mainprize, as he did afterwards for preſuming to addreſs him againſt the Spaniſh match. He pardoned the earl of Somerſet and his wife for Sir Thomas Overbury's murder, after he had imprecated all the curſes of heaven upon himſelf and his poſterity. He permitted the proteſtant intereſt to be run down in Germany and France, while he was bubbled nine years together with the hopes of the Spaniſh match, and a great fortune. In this reign that ridiculous doctrine of kings being Jure Divino was coined, never before heard of even in the Eaſtern tyrannies. But our happineſs was, that this prince was a great coward, and hated the ſight of a ſoldier; ſo that he could not do much againſt us by open force. At laſt he died (as many have believed) by poiſon, to make room for his ſon Charles I.

This king was a great bigot, which made him the darling of the clergy; but having no great reach of his own, and being governed by the prieſts (who have been always unfortunate when they have meddled with politics) with a true eccleſiaſtic fury he drove on to the deſtruction of all the liberties of England. This king's whole reign was one continued act againſt the laws. He diſſolved his firſt parliament for preſuming to enquire into his father's death, though he loſt a great ſum of money by it, which they had voted him: he entered at the ſame time into a war with France and Spain, upon the private piques of Buckingham, who managed them to the eternal diſhonour and reproach of the Engliſh nation. He delivered Pennington's fleet into the French hands, betrayed the poor Rochellers, and ſuffered the proteſtant intereſt in France to be quite extirpated. He raiſed loads, exciſes, coat and conduct-money, tonnage and poundage, knighthoods, and ſhip-money, without authority of parliament; impriſoned great numbers of the moſt conſiderable gentry and merchants for not paying his tributary taxes; ſome he ſent beyond ſea, and the poorer ſort he preſſed for ſoldiers. He kept ſoldiers upon free quarter, and executed martial law upon them. He erected arbitrary courts, and enlarged others, as the high commiſſion-court, the ſtar-chamber, court of honour, court of requeſts, &c. and unſpeakable oppreſſions were committed in them, even to men of the firſt quality. He ſupported all his arbitrary miniſters againſt the parliament, telling them, he wondered at the fooliſh

impudence of any one to think he would part with the meaneſt of his ſervants upon their account: and indeed in his ſpeeches, or rather menaces, he treated them like his footmen, calling them undutiful, ſeditious, and vipers. He brought unheard-of innovations into the church; preferred men of arbitrary principles, and inclinable to popery: he diſpenſed with the laws againſt papiſts, and both encouraged and preferred them. He called no parliament for twelve years together, and in that time governed as arbitrary as the Grand Seignior. It is endleſs to enumerate all the oppreſſions of his reign; but having no army to ſupport him, his tyranny was precarious, and at laſt terminated in his ruin. Though he extorted great ſums from the people, yet it was with ſo much difficulty, that it did him little good; beſides, he ſpent ſo much in fooliſh wars and expeditions, that he was always behind hand, yet he often attempted to raiſe an army.

Upon pretence of the Spaniſh and French war he raiſed many thouſand men, who lived upon free quarter, and robbed and deſtroyed wherever they came. But being unſucceſsful in his wars abroad, and preſſed by the clamours of the people at home, he was forced to diſband them. In 1627 he ſent over 30,000l. to Holland, to raiſe 3000 German horſe, to force his arbitrary taxes; but this matter taking wind, and being examined by the parliament, orders were ſent to countermand them. In the 15th year of his reign he gave a commiſſion to Strafford to raiſe 8000 Iriſh, to be brought into England; but before they could get hither, the Scots were in arms for the like oppreſſions, and marched into Northumberland, which forcing him to call a parliament, prevented that deſign, and ſo that army was diſbanded. Soon after he raiſed an army in England to oppoſe the Scots, and tampered with them to march to London, and diſſolve the parliament: but this army being compoſed for the moſt part of the militia, and the matter being communicated to the houſe, the deſign came to nothing. After this there was a pacification between the king and the Scots; and in purſuance of it both armies were diſbanded: then he went to Scotland, and endeavoured to prevail with them to invade England; but that not doing, he ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring their concurrence in the raiſing 3000 Iriſh, to be lent to the king of Spain; to which the parliament refuſed to conſent, believing he would make another uſe of them. When he came back to London, he picked 3 or 400 diſſolute fellows out of taverns, gaming and brothel-houſes, kept a table for them; and with this goodly guard, all armed, he entered the Houſe of Commons, ſat down in the ſpeaker's chair, demanding the delivery of five members: but the citizens coming down by land and water, with muſquets upon their ſhoulders to defend the Parliament, he attempted no further. This ſo enraged the houſe, that they choſe a guard to defend themſelves againſt future inſults; and the king ſoon after left London.

Then the civil wars broke out between him and his people, in which many bloody battles were fought. At laſt, by the fate of the war, the king became a priſoner, and the parliament treated with him while in that condition; and at the ſame time voted, that ſome part of the army ſhould be diſbanded, and others ſent to Ireland to reduce that kingdom; upon which the army choſe agitators among themſelves, who preſented a petition to both houſes, that they would proceed to ſettle the affairs of the

kingdom,

kingdom, and declare that no part of the army ſhould be diſbanded till that was done. But finding their petition reſented, they ſent and ſeized the king's perſon from the parliament's commiſſioners, drew up a charge of high treaſon againſt eleven principal members, for endeavouring to diſband the army, entered into a private treaty with the king; but he not complying with their demands, they ſeized London; and notwithſtanding the parliament had voted the king's conceſſions a ground for a future ſettlement, they reſolved to put him to death, and in order thereto purged the houſe, as they called it, that is, placed guards upon them, and excluded all members that were for agreeing with the king; and then they cut off his head.

After this they let the parliament govern for five years, who made their name famous through the whole earth, conquered their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; reduced the kingdom of Portugal to their own terms; recovered our reputation at ſea; overcame the Dutch in ſeveral famous battles; ſecured our trade, and managed the public expences with ſo much frugality, that no eſtates were gained by private men upon the public miſeries; and at laſt were paſſing an act for their own diſſolution, and ſettling the nation in a free and impartial commonwealth; of which the army being afraid, thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them.

When they had done this act, the council of officers ſet up a new form of government, and choſe a certain number of perſons out of every county and city of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and theſe they inveſted with the ſupreme power, but ſoon after expelled them; and then Cromwell ſet up himſelf, and framed a new inſtrument of government, by a protector and a houſe of commons, in purſuance of which he called a parliament. But they not anſwering his expectations, he excluded all that would not ſubſcribe his inſtrument; and thoſe that remained, not proving for his purpoſe neither, he diſſolved them. He then divided England into ſeveral diſtricts or diviſions, and placed major generals or intendants over them, who governed like ſo many baſhaws, decimating the cavaliers, and raiſing taxes at their pleaſure. Then forſooth he had a mind to make himſelf king, and called another parliament to that purpoſe, after his uſual manner ſecluding ſuch members as he did not like. To this aſſembly he offered another inſtrument of government, which was by a repreſentative of the people, a ſecond houſe compoſed of ſeventy members, in the nature of a houſe of lords, and a ſingle perſon; and left a blank for what name he ſhould be called, which this worthy aſſembly filled up with that of king, addreſſed to Cromwell, that he would be pleaſed to accept it, and gave him power to nominate the members of the other houſe. This the great officers of the army reſented, for it deſtroyed all their hopes of being tyrants in their turn, and therefore addreſſed the parliament againſt the power and government of a king, which made Cromwell decline that title, and content himſelf with a greater power under the name of Protector. Afterwards he named the other houſe, as it was called, for the moſt part out of the officers of the army: but even this parliament not pleaſing him, he diſſolved them in a fury, and governed the nation without any parliament at all till he died.

After his death the army ſet up his ſon Richard, who called a new parliament; but their proceedings being not agreeable to the humour of the

ſoldiery, they forced the protector to diſſolve them; then they depoſed him, and took the power into their own hands; but being unable to wield it, they reſtored the commonwealth, and ſoon after expelled them again, becauſe they would not ſettle the military ſword independent of the civil; then they governed the nation by a council of war, and choſe a committee of ſafety for the executive part of the government; but that whim laſted but a little time, before they choſe conſervators of liberty; and that not doing neither, they agreed that every regiment ſhould chooſe two repreſentatives, and this worthy council ſhould ſettle the nation; when they met, ſometimes they were for calling a new parliament, ſometimes for reſtoring the old, which was at laſt done. By this means all things fell into confuſion.

This is a true and lively example of a government with an army; an army that was raiſed in the cauſe, and for the ſake of liberty; compoſed for the moſt part of men of religion and ſobriety. If this army could commit ſuch violences upon a parliament always ſucceſsful, that had acquired ſo much reputation both at home and abroad, at a time when the whole people were trained in arms, and the pulſe of the nation beat high for liberty, what are we to expect, if in a future age an ambitious prince ſhould ariſe with a diſſolute and debauched army, a flattering clergy, a proſtitute miniſtry, a bankrupt houſe of lords, a penſioner houſe of commons, and a ſlaviſh and corrupted nation?

By this means came in Charles II. a luxurious, effeminate prince, a deep diſſembler; and if not a papiſt himſelf, yet a great favourer of them: but the people had ſuffered ſo much from the army, that he was received with the utmoſt joy and tranſport. The parliament in the honey-moon paſſed what laws he pleaſed, gave a vaſt revenue for life, being three times as much as any of his predeceſſors ever enjoyed, and ſeveral millions beſides to be ſpent in his pleaſures. This made him conceive vaſter hopes of arbitrary power than any that went before him; and in order to it he debauched and enervated the whole kingdom; and in a little time the contagion ſpread through the whole nation, that it was out of the faſhion not to be lewd, and ſcandalous not to be a public enemy, which has been the occaſion of all the miſeries that have ſince happened; and I am afraid will not be extinguiſhed but by our ruin. He was no ſooner warm in his ſeat, but he rejected an advantageous treaty of commerce, which Oliver made with France, as done by an uſurper; ſuffered the French to lay impoſitions upon all our goods, which amounted to a prohibition, inſomuch that they got a million a year from us in the over-balance of trade. He ſold that important fortreſs of Dunkirk, let the French ſeize St. Chriſtopher's, and other places in North America.

He began a fooliſh and unjuſt war with the Dutch; and the parliament gave him vaſt ſums to maintain it, yet he ſpent ſo much upon his vices, that they got great advantages of us, and burnt our fleet at Chatham. At laſt he made as diſhonourable a peace with them, as he had done a war; a perpetual reproach to our country, that our reputation at ſea ſhould be ſunk to ſo low an ebb as to be baffled by that nation, who but a few years before had ſent a blank paper to the parliament, to preſcribe to them what laws they pleaſed. During this war the city of London was fired, not without ſuſpicions that the fire-balls were prepared at Whitehall. Soon after

after this he entered into the triple alliance to oppoſe the greatneſs of France, and received a great ſum from the parliament to maintain it, which he made uſe of to break the ſame league; ſent a gentleman to Sweden to diſſolve it; and entered into a ſtrict alliance with France, which was ſealed with his ſiſter's blood. In conjunction with them he made a new war upon Holland, to extirpate liberty and the proteſtant religion; but knowing the parliament were averſe to the war, and would not ſupport him in it, he attempted before any war declared to ſeize the Smyrna fleet, ſhut up the Exchequer, and became ſo mean as to be a penſioner to France, from whence his predeceſſors with ſwords in their hands had ſo often exacted tribute. He not only ſuffered, but aſſiſted them to arrive at that pitch of greatneſs, which all Europe ſince hath ſufficiently felt and lamented. He ſent over 10,000 men to aſſiſt in ſubduing Flanders and Germany. He ſent them timber, ſeamen, ſhip-carpenters, and models, contrary to the policy of all nations; which raiſed their naval force to a degree almoſt equal to our own; and for their exerciſe, he ſuffered them to take multitudes of Engliſh ſhips by their privateers, without ſo much as demanding ſatisfaction.

During this war he iſſued out a declaration ſuſpending the penal laws, which appears to be deſigned partially in favour of the papiſts, by his directing a bill afterwards to be ſtolen away out of the houſe of lords, for indulging proteſtant diſſenters, whom he perſecuted violently moſt of his reign, while he both countenanced and preferred papiſts. It was in this reign that that curſed and deteſtable policy was much improved of bribing parliaments, by diſtributing all the great employments in England among them, and ſupplying the want of places with grants of lands and money. No man could be preferred to any employment in church or ſtate, till he had declared himſelf an open enemy to our conſtitution, by aſſerting deſpotic power under that nonſenſical phraſe of Paſſive Obedience, which was more preached up than all the laws of God and man. The helliſh popiſh plot, though it was ſtifled, proved ſince too true by fatal experience; and in the room of it proteſtant ones were forged, and men trepanned into others, as the Meal-tub, Fitz-Harris's, the Ryehouſe, Newmarket, and Black-heath plots; and by theſe pretences, and the help of packed judges and juries, they butchered ſome of the beſt men in England, ſet immoderate fines upon others; and, to finiſh our deſtruction, took away the charters, as faſt as they were able, of all the corporations in England, that would not chooſe the members preſcribed them.

But he durſt not have dreamed of all theſe violations, if he had not had an army to juſtify them. He had thoughts at firſt of keeping up the parliament army, which was ſeveral times in debate; but chancellor Hyde prevailed upon him by this argument, that they were a body of men that had cut off his father's head; that they had ſet up and pulled down ten ſeveral ſorts of government; and that it might be his own turn next. So that his fears prevailing over his ambition, he conſented to diſband them: but ſoon found how vain and abortive a thing arbitrary power would prove without an army. He therefore tried all ways to get one; and firſt he attempted it in Scotland, and got an act paſſed there, whereby that kingdom was obliged to raiſe 20,000 foot and 2,000 horſe at his majeſty's call, to march into any part of his dominions; and this law is in being

being at this day. Much about the ſame time he raiſed guards in England (a thing unheard of before in our Engliſh conſtitution) and by degrees increaſed them, till they became a formidable army. He then began that war in conjunction with France, and the parliament gave him two millions and a half to maintain it, with part of which money he raiſed about 12,000 men, which were called the Black-heath army, and pretended he raiſed them to attack Holland; but inſtead of uſing them to that purpoſe, he kept them encamped upon Black-heath, hovering over the city of London, which put both the parliament and city in ſuch confuſion, that the king was forced at laſt to diſband them. But at the ſame time, contrary to the articles of peace with the Dutch, he continued 10,000 men in the French ſervice, for the moſt part under popiſh officers, to be ſeaſoned there in ſlaviſh principles, that they might be ready to execute any commands when they were ſent for over. The parliament never met, but they addreſſed the king to recal theſe forces out of France, and diſband them; and ſeveral times prepared bills to that purpoſe, which the king always prevented by a prorogation; but at laſt was prevailed upon to iſſue forth a proclamation to recal them, yet at the ſame time ſupplied them with recruits, encouraged ſome to go voluntarily into that ſervice, and preſſed, impriſoned, and carried over others by main force; beſides he only diſbanded the new-raiſed regiments, and not all of them neither, for he kept up in England 5,890 private men, beſides officers, which was his eſtabliſhment in 1673.

The king having two great deſigns to carry on together, viz. popery and arbitrary power, thought this force not enough to do his buſineſs effectually, and therefore caſt about how to get a new army, and took the moſt plauſible way, which was pretending to enter into a war with France; and for that purpoſe made a ſtrict league with the States of Holland; and immediately upon it the king called the parliament, who gave 1,200,000 pounds to enter into an actual war with France, with which money he raiſed an army of between 20 and 30,000 men within leſs than forty days, and ſent part of them to Flanders. At the ſame time he continued his forces in France, and took a ſum of money from that king to aſſiſt him in making a private peace with Holland: ſo that, inſtead of a war with France, the parliament had given a great ſum to raiſe an army to enſlave themſelves. But it happened about this time that the popiſh plot broke out, which put the nation into ſuch a ferment, that there was no ſtemming the tide; ſo that he was forced to call the parliament, which met the 23d of October 1678, who immediately fell upon the popiſh plot and the land army. Beſides, there were diſcovered 57 commiſſions granted to papiſts to raiſe men; this ſo enraged the parliament, that they immediately proceeded to the diſbanding of the army, and paſſed the act that all forces raiſed ſince the 29th of September 1677 ſhould be diſbanded, and gave the king 693,388 pounds to pay off their arrears, which he made uſe of to keep them up, and diſſolved the parliament; but ſoon after called another, which purſued the ſame counſels, and paſſed a ſecond act to diſband the army, gave a new ſum for doing it, directed it to be paid into the chamber of London, appointed commiſſioners of their own, and paſſed a vote, 'That the continuance of any ſtanding forces in this 'nation, other than the militia, was illegal, and a great grievance and

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a vexation to the people;' ſo that army was diſbanded. From this time he never agreed with his people, but diſſolved three parliaments following, for enquiring into the popiſh plot, and in the three laſt years of his reign called none at all. It is obſervable in this king's reign, that there was not one ſeſſions but his guards were attacked, and never could get the leaſt countenance from parliament; but to be even with them, the court as much diſcountenanced the militia, and never would ſuffer it to be made uſeful. Thus we ſee the king huſbanded a few guards ſo well, that in a ſmall number of years they grew to a formidable army, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the parliament to the contrary; ſo difficult it is to prevent the growing of an evil, that does not receive a check in the beginning.

Towards the latter end of this king's reign the nation had ſo entirely loſt all ſenſe of liberty, that they grew fond of their chain; and if his brother had followed his example, by this time we had been as great ſlaves as in France. But it was God's mercy to us that he was made in another mould; imperious, obſtinate, and a bigot, puſhed on by the counſels of France and Rome, and the violence of his own nature; ſo that he quickly run himſelf out of breath. As ſoon as he came to the crown, he ſeized the cuſtoms and exciſe without authority of parliament: got the diſpenſing power to be declared in Weſtminſter-hall, and turned the fellows of Magdalen college out of their freeholds, to make way for a ſeminary of prieſts. He erected the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, ſuſpended the biſhop of London, becauſe he would not inflict the ſame puniſhment upon Dr. Sharp, for preaching againſt popery: he cloſeted the nobility and gentry, turned all out of employment that would not promiſe to repeal the teſt, put in popiſh privy-counſellors, judges, deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of peace; and to get all this confirmed by the ſhew of parliament, he proſecuted the work his brother had begun in taking away charters, and new-modelling the corporations by a ſet of vermin called Regulators. He made Tyrconnel lord lieutenant of Ireland; turned all the proteſtants out of the army, and moſt of the civil employments there; and made Fitton (a papiſt, and one detected for perjury) chancellor of that kingdom. He iſſued out a proclamation in Scotland wherein he aſſerted his abſolute power, which all his ſubjects were to obey without reſerve; and iſſued out a declaration for liberty of conſcience, ordered it to be read in all churches, and impriſoned and tried ſeven biſhops, becauſe they humbly offered their reaſons in a petition againſt it.

Soon after he came to the crown, the duke of Monmouth landed, and in a few weeks got together 6 or 7,000 men; but they having neither arms or proviſions, were eaſily defeated by not many more than 2000 of the king's troops; which leaves a ſad proſpect of the conſequences of a ſtanding army: for here was a prince, the darling of the common people, fighting againſt a bigotted papiſt that was hated and abhorred by them, and yet defeated by ſo ſmall a number of men, and many of them too his friends; ſuch is the force of authority. King James took occaſion from hence to increaſe his army to between 15 and 16,000 men, and then unmaſked himſelf, called his parliament, and in a haughty ſpeech told them, He had increaſed his army, put in officers not qualified by the teſt, and that he would not part with them. He aſked a ſupply, and let them know he expected their compliance. This was very unexpected to thoſe

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loyal gentlemen, who had given him ſuch a vaſt revenue for life, who refuſed to take any ſecurity but his majeſty's never-failing word for the proteſtant religion, and indeed had done for him whatever he aſked; which yet was not very extraordinary, ſince he had the chooſing of moſt of them himſelf. But even this parliament turned ſhort upon an army. The court laboured the matter very much; and to ſhew that good wits jump, they told us that France was grown formidable, that the Dutch forces were much increaſed, that we muſt be ſtrong in proportion for the preſervation of ourſelves and Flanders, and that there was no dependence upon the militia. But this ſhallow rhetoric would not paſs upon them. They anſwered, *That we had defended ourſelves for above a thouſand years without an army; that a king's trueſt ſtrength is the love of his people; that they would make the militia uſeful, and ordered a bill to be brought in to that purpoſe.* But all this ſerved only to fulfil their iniquity; for they had done their own buſineſs before, and now he would keep an army up in ſpite of them; ſo he prorogued them, and called no other parliament during his reign; but, to frighten the city of London, kept his army encamped on Hounſlow-heath when the ſeaſon would permit; which put not only them but the whole nation into the utmoſt terror and confuſion. Towards the latter end of his reign he increaſed his army in England to above 20,000 men, and in Ireland to 8,700 and odd.

He violated the rights of the people, fell out with the church of England, and made uncertain friends of the diſſenters; by which means they in all united againſt him, and invited the prince of Orange to aſſiſt them; which invitation he accepted, and landed at Torbay the 5th of November 1688, publiſhing a declaration, which ſet forth all the oppreſſions of the laſt reign, declared for a free parliament, in which things were to be ſettled that there ſhould be no danger of falling again into ſlavery, and promiſed to ſend back all his foreign forces as ſoon as this was done.

When the news of his landing was ſpread through England, he was welcomed by the univerſal acclamations of the people. He had the hands, the hearts, and the prayers of all honeſt men in the nation: every one thought the long-wiſhed for time of their deliverance was come. King James was deſerted by his own family, his court, and his army. The ground he ſtood upon mouldered under him; ſo that he ſent his queen and foundling to France before him, and himſelf followed ſoon after. When the prince came to London, he diſbanded moſt of thoſe regiments that were raiſed from the time he landed; but James's army, that were diſbanded by Feverſham, were ordered to repair all again to their colours; which was thought by ſome a falſe ſtep, believing that forces ought not by the principles of the Revolution to be kept, which were raiſed in violation of the laws, and to ſupport a tyrannical government.

When the convention met, they reſolved upon twenty-eight articles, as the preliminaries upon which they would diſpoſe of the crown; but this deſign dwindled into a declaration of our rights, which was in thirteen articles, and the moſt conſiderable; viz. *That the raiſing and keeping up a ſtanding army in times of peace is contrary to law*, had tagged to it theſe words, *without authority of parliament*; as if their conſent would make it leſs dangerous, or parliament could make an act legal if ſubverſive of the conſtitution. This made the Jacobites ſay in thoſe early days, that

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ſome evil counſellors deſigned to play the ſame game again of a ſtanding army.

But in Ireland, though our army could do nothing, yet the militia of the country, almoſt without arms or cloaths, performed miracles, witneſs that memorable ſiege of Londonderry, the defeat of general Mackarty, who was entrenched in a bog with ten thouſand regular troops, and attacked by fifteen hundred Inniſkilling men, defeated, himſelf made priſoner, and three thouſand of his men killed; and a great many other gallant actions they performed, for which they were diſmiſſed by Kirk with ſcorn and ignominy, and moſt of their officers left to ſtarve.

It not being the purpoſe of this diſcourſe, I ſhall omit giving any account of the conduct of our fleet during this war, how few advantages we reaped by it, and how many opportunities we loſt of deſtroying the French; only thus much I will obſerve, that though a great part of it may be attributed to the negligence, ignorance, or treachery of inferior officers, yet it could not ſo univerſally happen through the whole courſe of the war, and unpuniſhed too, notwithſtanding the clamours of the merchants, and repeated complaints in parliament, unleſs the cauſe had laid deeper: what that is, I ſhall not preſume to enquire; but I am ſure there has been a very ill argument drawn from it; viz. *That a fleet is no ſecurity to us.*

As ſoon as the peace was made, his majeſty diſcharged a great part of the foreign forces; and an advertiſement was publiſhed in the Gazette, that ten regiments ſhould be forthwith diſbanded; and we are told, as ſoon as it was done, that more ſhould follow their example. But theſe reſolutions, it ſeems, were altered, and the modiſh language was, that we muſt keep up a ſtanding army.

The houſe had not ſat a week but this matter came to be debated; and the queſtion in the committee was, *Whether all forces raiſed ſince the year* 80 *ſhould be diſbanded?* which was carried in the affirmative, the court being not able to bring it to a diviſion: and the next day, when it was reported, they did not attempt to ſet aſide the vote, but to recommit it, upon pretence it tied the king to the old Tory regiments (though by the way none of thoſe regiments have been ſince diſbanded) and ſome ſaid they thought the forces in 80 too many. But let what will be their reaſons, it was carried againſt them by a majority of 37, the affirmatives being 185, and the negatives 148.

This was a thorough victory, and required great ſkill and addreſs to retrieve; ſince by the rules of the houſe they could not ſet aſide the former vote directly, they would try to do it by a ſide wind, which was by moving, that directions might be given to the committee of ways and means to conſider of a ſupply for guards and garriſons; but the other ſide, to obviate this, offered theſe words as an amendment; viz. *According to the vote of the* 11*th of December.* This matter was much laboured, and the gentlemen that were againſt the army explained themſelves, and declared they were not for obliging the king to the regiments in 80, but that they inſiſted only on the number, and he might chooſe what regiments he pleaſed. By this means they carried it, but not without great oppoſition. But all this advantage would not ſatisfy the army-gentlemen; for in the committee they endeavoured again to ſet aſide the vote, by moving

ing for a ſum of 500,000 pounds per annum for guards and garriſons, without naming any certain number (which would have maintained above 20,000) but this could not be carried; therefore they came to a ſort of compoſition to have but 10,000, whereof a great number were to be horſe and dragoons; and the ſum given to maintain them was 350,000l. but notwithſtanding this they moved afterwards for 3000 marines (alledging that theſe were not a land-force, but a water-force) which was carried.

Here I will beg leave to obſerve one thing, that nothing would ſatisfy the courtiers at the beginning of the winter but to have the forces eſtabliſhed by the parliament, and upon other terms they would not accept them; and in all companies ſaid, that any miniſter that adviſed the king to keep them up otherwiſe, or any officer that continued his commiſſion, ought to be attainted of high treaſon.

Thus what our courts for above a thouſand years together had never effrontery enough to aſk; what the penſioner parliament could not think of without aſtoniſhment; what king James's parliament (that was almoſt choſen by himſelf) could not hear debated with patience; we are likely to have the honour of eſtabliſhing in our own age, even under a deliverance.

Now we will examine how far they have complied with the reſolutions of the houſe of commons. Having ſo far gained upon the firſt vote by the means before-related, it was not eaſy to be imagined but they would nicely perform the reſt, without any art or evaſion; but inſtead of this, they reformed a certain number of men out of every troop and company, and kept up all the officers, who are the moſt eſſential and chargeable part of an army, the private ſoldiers being to be raiſed again in a few days whenever they pleaſe. This is ſuch a diſbanding as every officer would have made in his company for his private advantage, and always did in Charles the ſecond's time, and even in this reign when they were not in action: ſo that all the effect of ſuch a reform is to hinder the officers from falſe muſters, and ſave the pay of a few common ſoldiers.

But this would not ſatisfy the people, and therefore they diſbanded ſome regiments of horſe, foot, and dragoons, and thought of that profound expedient of ſending a great many more to Ireland; as if our grievance was not the fear of being enſlaved by them, but leſt they ſhould ſpend their money among us. I am ſorry the nation is grown ſo contemptible in theſe gentlemens opinions, as to think that they can remove our fears of a ſtanding army, by ſending them threeſcore miles off, from whence they may recal them upon a few days notice. It is a common policy among arbitrary princes often to ſhift their ſoldiers quarters, leſt they ſhould contract friendſhip among the natives, and by degrees fall into their intereſt.

This project of ſending men to Ireland was ſo tranſparent, that they durſt not rely upon it; and therefore they told us, that as faſt as money could be got, they would diſband more regiments. The people were in great expectation when it would be done, and ſeveral times it was taken notice of in parliament; and the courtiers always aſſured them that nothing hindered it but the want of money to pay them off.

At laſt the parliament roſe, and inſtead of diſbanding they brought over a great many foreign regiments, and ſent them to Ireland, as well as three

three more Engliſh ones. But even all this would not bring their army in England down to ten thouſand men; ſo that they made another reform, and ſince have incorporated the officers of the diſbanded regiments in Ireland into the ſtanding troops, by which means they have got an army of officers: whereas if theſe gentlemen deſign their army to defend us againſt a ſudden invaſion, in my poor opinion they ſhould have kept up the private ſoldiers, and diſbanded all the officers but ſuch as are juſt neceſſary to exerciſe them; for officers will be always ready to accept good imployments, whereas the private ſoldiers will be very difficultly liſted again in a new war, though we all know they are eaſily to be got together when they are only to inſult their countrymen.

One good effect of this army has already appeared; for I preſume every body has heard how prevailing an argument it was in the late elections, *That if we chuſe ſuch a man, we ſhall be free from quarters:* And I wiſh this argument does not every day grow ſtronger. Nay, who knows but in another reign the corporations may be told, that his majeſty *expects* they will chooſe the officers of the army, and the parliament be told, that he *expects* they will maintain them?

If the Prince of Orange in his declaration, inſtead of telling us that we ſhall be ſettled upon ſuch a foundation that there ſhall be no danger of our falling again into ſlavery, and that he would ſend back all his forces as ſoon as that was done, had promiſed us, that after an eight years war (which would leave us in debt near twenty millions) we ſhould have a ſtanding army eſtabliſhed, a great many of which ſhould be foreigners, I believe few men would have thought ſuch a revolution worth the hazard of their lives and eſtates: but his mighty ſoul was above ſuch abject thoughts as theſe; his declaration was his own, theſe paltry deſigns are our undertakers, who would ſhelter their own oppreſſion under his ſacred name.

I would willingly know, whether the late king James could have enſlaved us but by an army? and whether there is any way of ſecuring us from falling again into ſlavery but by diſbanding them? It was in that ſenſe I underſtood his Majeſty's declaration, and therefore did early take up arms for him, as I ſhall be always ready to do. It was this alone which made his aſſiſtance neceſſary to us, otherwiſe we had wanted none but the hangman's.

I will venture to ſay, that if this army does not make us ſlaves, we are the only people upon earth, in ſuch circumſtances, that ever eſcaped it with the fourth part of their number. It is a greater force than Alexander conquered the Eaſt with, than Cæſar had in his conqueſt of Gaul, or indeed the whole Roman empire; double the number that any of our anceſtors ever invaded France with, Ageſilaus the Perſians, or Huinades and Scanderbeg the Turkiſh empire; as many again as was in any battle between the Dutch and Spaniards in forty years war, or betwixt the King and Parliament; four times as many as the Prince of Orange landed with in England; and in ſhort, as many as hath been on both ſides in nine battles of ten that were ever fought in the world. If this army does not enſlave us, it is barely becauſe we have a virtuous prince that will not attempt it; and it is a moſt miſerable thing to have no other ſecurity for our liberty, than the will of a man, though the moſt juſt man living; for *that is not a*

*free*

*free government where there is a good prince* (for even the moſt arbitrary governments have had ſometimes a relaxation of their miſeries) *but where it is ſo conſtituted, that no one can be a tyrant if he would.* Cicero ſays, though a maſter does not tyrannize, yet it is a lamentable conſideration that it is in his power to do ſo; and therefore ſuch a power is to be truſted to none, which if it does not find a tyrant, commonly makes one; and if not him, to be ſure a ſucceſſor.

If any one, during the reign of Charles II. when thoſe that were called Whigs, with a noble ſpirit of liberty, both in the Parliament Houſe and in private companies, oppoſed a few guards as badges of tyranny, a deſtruction to our conſtitution, and the foundations of a ſtanding army: I ſay, if any ſhould have told them that a deliverer ſhould come and reſcue them from the oppreſſion under which they then laboured; that France, by a tedious and conſumptive war, ſhould be reduced to half the power it then had; and even at that time they ſhould not only be paſſive, but uſe their utmoſt intereſt, and diſtort their reaſon to find out arguments for keeping up ſo vaſt an army, and make the abuſes of which they had been all their lives complaining, precedents to juſtify thoſe proceedings; whoever would have told them this, muſt have been very regardleſs of his reputation, and been thought to have had a great deal of ill nature. But the truth is, we have lived in an age of miracles, and there is nothing ſo extravagant that we may not expect to ſee, when ſurly patriots grow ſervile flatterers, old commonwealthſmen declare for the prerogative, and admirals for the fleet.

To conclude, we have a wiſe and virtuous prince*, who has always endeavoured to pleaſe his people by taking thoſe men into his councils, which they have recommended to him by their own choice; and when their intereſt has declined, he has gratified the nation by turning them out. I would therefore give this ſeaſonable advice to thoſe who were once called Whigs, that the way to preſerve their intereſt with his majeſty, is to keep it with the people; that their old friends will not deſert them till they deſert their country; which when they do, they will be left to their own proper merits. And though I am not much given to believing prophecies, yet I will be a prophet for once, and foretel, that then they will meet with the fate of king Phys and king Uſh, in the Rehearſal, *Their new maſters will turn them off, and nobody elſe will take them.*

* William III.

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